My Duty

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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## THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

Gandhiji visited Wah Camp near Rawalpindi on his way back from Kashmir on the 5th of the last month. The refugees there were insistent that they should be removed to the Indian Union before the 15th of August, when Pakistan would be a reality. They were convinced that they could not live in safety and honour in Pakistan. Gandhiji pleaded with them to be calm and not to give way to panic. He was of the opinion that once Pakistan was a reality, repetition of lawlessness would be unlikely. What had happened in Rawalpindi, Lahore and other places was dreadful, but at that time there was no popular ministry in the Punjab. He said that he would have liked to stay with them himself till the 15th of August, but he was under promise to reach Bengal before that date. Therefore, he asked me to stay there instead of him. I could leave the camp any day after the 15th and join him.

I stayed there fully convinced that it was wrong for the Hindus and Sikhs to flee from Pakistan. They had inhabited that land from generations and were entitled to live there. If Indians could fight for their rights in South Africa, were they to relinquish their homes in Pakistan?

I placed my ideas before the refugees. Some appreciated them, some were resentful. They were not prepared to live the life of hostages, they said. They would rather be beggars in the Indian Union than be big landlords in Pakistan, where even the honour of their womenfolk was not safe. I tried to impress upon them that the right thing for us would be to die in defence of our honour rather than be bullied out.

I visited a few villages from where the people had fled. In one village the Muslim landlord had given protection to the minority community and had nipped the trouble in the bud. There had been only three deaths and a few houses had been burnt. I was told that the Hindus would be welcome if they came back. But in some other villages they were not wanted back. I was puzzled as to what to say to the people under the circumstances. The Deputy Commissioner came and assured me that the refugees would be quite safe and soon rehabilitation would become possible.

But the trouble started again in spite of the efforts of the Deputy Commissioner to control the situation. East Punjab was reported to be avenging Rawalpindi and the whole of West Punjab flared up to avenge the happening in East Punjab. The vicious circle has been going on for the last one year. Trouble broke out in Calcutta on the 16th of August last year. Noakhali, we were told, was the revenge of Calcutta, Bihar avenged Noakhali with a vengeance. As a result came the massacre and untold brutalities of Rawalpindi and N. W. F. P. Thus did the circle of revenge continue to grow wider. If it is not stopped at some stage, it might engulf the whole of India.

By the time I was to leave Wah Camp, life had become most uncertain there. It was not possible to leave them then. More refugees started pouring in. They were attacked on the way and many of them including women and children arrived in a terrible condition. My faith was shaken. No longer could I tell the refugees in the camp that they must not think of leaving Pakistan. There were stories about the partisan behaviour of the police and the military and a young Muslim officer of nationalistic views told me that there was much truth in that. I had to acknowledge defeat and write to responsible quarters in the Indian Union pleading for speedy evacuation of the Wah Camp.

Towards the end of August, one refugee train which had gone full of Muslim evacuees to Rawalpindi brought away 1700 non-Muslim refugees from Wah Camp and aeroplanes started bringing away a few hundreds everyday.

In the meantime Gandhiji had been working the miracle in Calcutta and had apparently established peace there. Our only contact with the outside world at Wah Camp was the radio. It gave news of happenings of East Punjab only. Not a word was said about the happenings in West Punjab. It distressed the non-Muslim refugees. The news of Gandhiji's fast perturbed everybody, and induced the refugees to permit me to leave the camp, particularly in view of the fact that evacuation of the camp had already started.

I left West Punjab by an aeroplane bringing refugees to Delhi, and from there proceeded to Calcutta. Gandhiji's fast had come to an end by the time I reached there. I was seeing him after a month. He was weak but cheerful, and there was an atmosphere of hope and goodwill between the two communities all around him in contrast to the bitterness and despair in the Punjab. The Hindus and the Muslims had both become sick of the strife that had been going on off and on for over a year in Calcutta and it was sweet to be in peace once again. There were many sceptics who felt it was just a temporary phase. It was only the Hindus who had surrendered their weapons to Gandhiji, they said. Not a single Muslim had surrendered arms. That showed that they were not sincere. Gandhiji brushed aside these arguments.

'Trust begets trust' is the maxim he always acts upon. Human nature is essentially good. It wants peace. The Muslims would surrender arms, he said. Moreover the Government was there to punish law-breakers. Let one side at least be correct.

He had said that he would fast unto death if there was a repetition of insanity in Bihar. When he delayed his departure for Noakhali and stayed on in Calcutta at the request of Muslim friends, he said the same thing for Noakhali. And now he repeated the pledge with regard to Calcutta. If the peace in Calcutta proved short-lived and there was a flare up of communal frenzy once again, he would undertake a fast unto death, wherever he was, he said. All this made friends anxious. Will he survive all this? But he has always lived for peace and has placed himself entirely in the hands of God. He does not wish to live in the midst of the hatred one sees everywhere. "Either I quench the flames or perish in the attempt," he has solemnly declared.

I had the feeling that on hearing the news that I brought him from West and East Punjab, he would agree that there was no way to avoid exchange of population. But I was disillusioned. He was unshaken in the belief that it was an utterly wrong step. The division of India had been a wrong step. It could not be righted by another wrong step. The minorities should stay where they were and bravely face death if it became inevitable. In the meantime it was the duty of the Governments on both sides to ensure the protection of the minorities. It was no use saying they had no control over the people. They should perish in the attempt, if need be. He left Calcutta for the Punjab on the 7th September to help to put a stop to anarchy there if he could possibly do so.

On his way to the Punjab, he came to Delhi, to find it enveloped in the flames of communal frenzy. And as is his wont, he has decided to stay here till peace is established in the city. He has been visiting the Hindu and Muslim refugee camps in Delhi almost everyday. The Hindus are angry with him because they feel that he is partial towards the Muslims. Most of the Muslims, on the other hand, feel that he is a Hindu after all and must be partial towards them. He quietly puts up with the angry looks and words of both and calmly tells them their duty. They must not take the law into their own hands. They should give a chance to their Governments to right the wrong. If retaliation and violence must rule the day, let there be a regular war, but this savagery must cease on either side. As for him he is convinced that the only true law of life is to return good for evil. Will either side listen to him?

Indians must realize that the result of the present anarchy can only be a return of slavery of a far worse type than before. "I do not wish to live to see that day," says Gandhiji and his anguish is shared by many. We have made tremendous sacrifices to win freedom. Is it too much to sacrifice the desire for revenge for the sake of that hard-won freedom?

New Delhi, 15-9-'47 S. N.

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*New Delhi, 15-9-'47*

### HEART SEARCHING

During the night as I heard what should have been the soothing sound of gentle life-giving rain, my mind went out to the thousands of refugees lying about in the open camps in Delhi. I was sleeping snugly in a verandah protecting me on all sides. But for the cruel hand of man against his brother, these thousands of men, women and children would not be shelterless and in many cases foodless. In some places they could not but be in knee-deep water. Was it all inevitable? The answer from within was an emphatic No. Was this the first fruit of freedom, just a month old baby? These thoughts have haunted me throughout these last twenty hours. My silence has been a blessing. It has made me enquire within. Have the citizens of Delhi gone mad? Have they no humanity left in them? Have love of the country and its freedom no appeal for them? I must be pardoned for putting the first blame on the Hindus and Sikhs. Could they not be men enough to stem the tide of hatred? I would urge the Muslims of Delhi to shed all fea[r], trust God and discover all the arms in their possession which the Hindus and the Sikhs fear they have. Not that the former too do not have any. The question is one of degree. Either the minority rely upon God and His creature man to do the right thing or rely upon their fire-arms to defend themselves against those whom they must not trust.

### TRUST YOUR GOVERNMENT

My advice is precise and firm. Its soundness is manifest. Trust your Government to defend every citizen against wrongdoers, however well-armed they may be. Further, trust it to demand and get damages for every member of the minority wrongfully dispossessed. All that neither Government can do is to resurrect the dead. The people of Delhi will make it difficult to demand justice from the Pakistan Government. Those who seek justice must do justice, must have clean hands. Let the Hindus and the Sikhs take the right step and invit[e] the Muslims who have been driven out of their homes to return. If they can take this courageous step worthy from every point of view, they immediately reduce the refugee problem to its simplest terms. They will command recognition from Pakistan, nay from the whole world. They will save Delhi and India from disgrace and ruin. For me, transfer of millions of the Hindus and the Sikhs and the Muslims is unthinkable. It is wrong. The wrong of Pakistan will be undone by the right of a resolute non-transfer of population. I hope I shall have the courage to stand by it, even though mine may be the solitary voice in its favour.

*Ganesh Lines, Delhi, 17-9-'47*

### NO IMPOSING

There was a very big gathering of workmen of the Delhi Cloth Mills and others from outside in the spacious courtyard of the Lines. Gandhiji had gone there at the instance of the workmen who used to supply volunteers whenever he stayed at

(Continued on p. 350)

## TO THE MUSLIMS IN THE UNION

[ On the 19th of this month Gandhiji addressed a small gathering of Muslims in the Daryaganj Mosque. A report of the meeting and the address is given here. — S. N. ]

### Nothing in Panic

Some Muslim friends had asked Gandhiji to visit the Muslim localities in the city so that those inhabitants who were still there might not leave their homes out of panic. Gandhiji readily agreed and began by visiting the Daryaganj area this evening. The deserted appearance of the houses and shops, a few of which had been looted, oppressed him. About a hundred Muslims had gathered in the house of Asaf Ali Saheb. They told Gandhiji that they wanted to live in India as loyal citizens of the Union, but they wanted an assurance of safety, particularly from the partisan behaviour of the police. Some of them were in tears when they narrated their plight. They did not approve of what the Muslims in Pakistan had done. But innocent people should not be made to pay for the guilt of others.

### Rely on God

Addressing them Gandhiji said that they had to be brave and declare firmly that they would not leave their homes whatever might happen. They should look to none but God for their safety and protection. He was there to do whatever he could. He had pledged himself to do or die in Noakhali, Bihar, Calcutta and now in Delhi. He would not ask those who had left their homes to come back till there was real peace and the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims agreed to live as brothers without the help of the police and the military.

### Government Association

He was the friend and servant of the Muslims as of the Hindus and others. He would not rest till every Muslim in the Union, who wished to live as a loyal citizen of the Union, was back in his home living in peace and security and the Hindus and the Sikhs returned likewise to their homes. He had served the Muslims for a lifetime in South Africa and in India. He could never forget the unity of the Khilafat days. It did not last, but it demonstrated the possibilities of lasting friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims. That was what he lived for and worked for. He was on his way to the Punjab to see that all the Hindus and the Sikhs who had been turned out of Pakistan should be able to return to their homes and live there in safety and honour. But on his way he was held up at Delhi and he would not leave it till real peace returned to the capital. Even if he was the only one to say it, he would never advise the Muslims to leave their homes. If they lived as law-abiding, honest and loyal citizens of India, no one could touch them. He was not the Government, but he had influence with those in the Government. He had had long talks with them. They did not believe that in India the Muslims had no place or that if the Muslims wished to stay there they had to do so as slaves of the Hindus. Some people had said that Sardar Patel encouraged the idea of Muslims going away to Pakistan. The Sardar was indignant at the suggestion. But he told him ( Gandhiji ) that he had reasons to suspect that the vast majority of the Muslims in India were not loyal to India. For such people it was better to go to Pakistan. But the Sardar did not let his suspicion colour his actions. Gandhiji was convinced that for the Muslims who wished to be citizens of the Indian Union, loyalty to the Union must come before everything else and they should be prepared to fight against the whole world for their country. Those who wished to go to Pakistan were free to do so. Only he did not wish a single Muslim to leave the Union out of fear of the Hindus or the Sikhs. Muslims in Delhi had assured him by their written declaration that they were loyal citizens of the Union. He would believe their word as he wished others to believe his. As such it was the duty of the Government to protect them. He for one would not like to live if he could not achieve that. The wrong had to be undone wherever it was. Abducted women had to be returned, forcible conversions considered null and void. The Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan and the Muslims of East Punjab had to be reinstalled in their own homes. In Pakistan and the Union they should produce conditions that not even a little girl, whatever her religion, should feel insecure. He was glad to have read the statement of Khaliquzzaman Saheb and of the Muslims of Muzaffarnagar. But before he proceeded to Pakistan he had to help to quench the fire in Delhi. If India and Pakistan were to be perpetual enemies and go to war against each other, it would ruin both the dominions and their hard-won freedom would be soon lost. He did not wish to live to see that day.

Maulana Ahmad Said appealed to the Muslims to see that unlicensed arms were surrendered. Gandhiji was taken to some *purdanashin* ladies before leaving the place. They said that their hopes were fixed on him. He said that they should rely on none but God. He was trying to do his best.

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**Playing at Cross Purposes**

The Government of Great Britain has directed the automobile industry to export about 75 per cent of its production. Irrespective of the demand in the country itself, Britain wants to have a large export trade in its manufactured goods so that it may meet its requirements in import of food.

This is only one side of the picture. In the world today everybody is in the same position. The devastated countries of Europe also require food. France is eager to export even shoddy manufactures of the present day, which do not come up to the pre-war standards.

On the other side, where are the countries which can afford to import these cars ? Surely, selling cars to America will be carrying coals to Newcastle. Even poor India is short of food and has to place restrictions on the import of cars. Such being the case, it ought to be evident that the economic development of Great Britain is lopsided and will not fit into a properly balanced economy

of the world. The British authorities will do well to investigate what sections of their economy can be prunned to fit into the post-war world. Britain trying to sell her cars to India and such other countries which have to give priority to food, is a game at cross purposes and one may be forgiven if one sees the germ of conflict in such a programme of expansion on the one side and one of restriction on the other.

J. C. K.

**HARIJAN**

**September 28 1947**

## MY DUTY

*( By M. K. Gandhi )*

This heading has reference only to my duty about the conducting of the *Harijan* papers. A fair number of replies have been received in answer to my querry. The majority of the readers with a few exceptions want the papers to be continued. The purport of these letters is that the readers desire my views on the present day topics. This means that probably after my death these will no longer be required.

My death can take place in three ways:

1. The usual dissolution of the body.
2. Only the eyes move but the mind no longer works.
3. The body and mind may work but I may withdraw from all public activity.

The first kind overtakes everybody — some die today, others tomorrow. It demands no consideration.

The second variety is to be wished by or for nobody. I for one do not wish for any such imbecile state. It is a burden on earth.

The third variety does demand serious consideration. Some readers suggest that the period of my active life should be over now. A new age for India began on 15th August last. There is no place for me in that age. I detect anger in this advice as it is worded. It therefore carries little weight with me. Such counsellors are few. I have to come to an independent conclusion. The *Harijan* papers are being conducted and published under the Navajivan Trust. The trustees can stop publication whenever they choose. They have full powers. They do not desire any such stoppage. My life line is cast in active public service. I have not attained the state which is known as 'action in inaction'. My activity, therefore, seems at present to be destined to continue till the last breath. Nor is it capable of being divided into water-tight compartments. The root of all lies in Truth otherwise known to me as Non-violence. Hence the papers must continue as they are. "One step enough for me."

New Delhi, 22-9-'47

*(Rendered from the original in Gujarati)*

## THE ROOT AND THE FRUIT

An English journalist came to Beliaghatta the other day. It was a busy day for Gandhiji and he could spare only a few minutes for the English friend. But within that brief interview a question was raised and discussed, which I should like very much to share with the readers.

Although Gandhiji's activities ranged from wide social and political fields to the smallest and intensely personal ones, the journalist asked him, how he was able to maintain a spirit of detachment in such a surprising manner. Gandhiji replied that it was not true that he was never off his balance. Such occasions were rare, yet the long exercise of self-restraint enabled him, through God's grace, to keep his irritation within very narrow bounds.

This led the interviewer on to a more fundamental question. From a reading of Gandhiji's writings, the friend had gathered that the root of all of Gandhiji's activities was the desire for *moksha*, emancipation. But why was not this aspect emphasized sufficiently?

Gandhiji replied by taking recourse to a simile. He said the desire for *moksha* was indeed the[illegible] but it was not meant for anyone other than the individual himself. The world was interested in the fruits, not the root. For the tree itself, however, the chief concern should be not the fruit, but the root. It was in the depth of one's own being that the individual had to concentrate. He had to nurse it with the water of his labour and suffering. The root was his chief concern. But society was concerned with the fruit alone. It had no other data for judgment than the fruits. Was not a tree judged by its fruits?

It was this practice of trying to limit himself to the root, and then not be concerned about the fruit that had given Gandhiji the apparent detachment which the English friend had noticed. But, in his personal opinion, he was yet far from the fullness of its realization. He was still a soul yearning to be wholly free, but ever failing to reach the ideal which he knew to be true. Hen[illegible] it would be enough if he could take care of the immediate task before him, whether great or small, with all the care and freedom from bias or mental worries which he could bring to bear upon it.

Calcutta, 4-9-'47 N. K. Bose

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## CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION OF COCOA-NUT OIL AS A REHABILITATION AND RELIEF MEASURE

The experiment of organizing production of cocoa-nut oil as a cottage occupation is being tried by us to provide relief to poor people in the riot-affected villages round about the Bhatialpur Centre. The enterprise is being carried out through what is intended to develop into a multi-purpose co-operative society. Four rupees per *seer* is the price paid to members. Non-members will get Rs. 3 per *seer* only. One of the conditions of membership is that one should become self-sufficient in the matter of clothing for himself and his family; for, we do not want to put money into leaky pockets to benefit the blackmarketeers in cloth. To this end each member is required to learn spinning and the allied processes himself and make members of his family do the same and grow at least four plants of tree-cotton for each member of the family. Cotton from these plants will belong to, and be taken delivery of, by the co-operative society, and distributed free to those who spin for themselves. Till an oil-producer qualifies himself for membership by delivering the stipulated self-grown cotton, the additional one rupee per *seer* will remain with the society as his share capital deposit.

Cocoa-nut oil production will thus immediately put some money into the pockets of the needy who are willing to work. To give them their money's worth, it is proposed to provide such of them as will put in two hour's free labour for common good one *seer* of rice at control price. Free service at pesent consists in helping to repair village communications, build new roads, bridges etc., clear tanks and above all, grow more food in their own and other people's *badis* by planting *jal cochus* and introducing *pani phal* ( singhoria ) in tanks which are at present choked with weeds and good for nothing else.

The second part of the scheme would be to utilize by-products by manufacturing useful articles out of cocoa-nut shell and coir and preserving the *chhoba* and *maska* as a standby in time of famine. Cocoa-nut shell can be turned into beautiful tea-cups, sugar pots etc., as experiments conducted by the Kazirkhil Camp have shown. Coir can be turned into string which is at present selling at Rs. 2-8-0 per *seer* and is in universal demand in these parts as an indispensable hut-building material. Cocoa-nut shell can further be manufactured into buttons. *Chhoba* and *maska* preserved by the addition of sugar or *gur* or by salting and dehydration represents the entire nourishing content of the cocoa-nut which is nature's complete food. The only thing that is reduced is the oil content which is found in excess of the human requirement in the natural state. To put this part of the scheme into operation will be needed a few hand machines and the help of a technical expert to teach the various manufacturing processes to the people.

So far only the first part of the scheme and a very small part of the second have been put into operation.

Cocoa-nut oil production was started on the 17th of April. Production for the first fortnight was only 4 *seers* and odd. It was suspended on 12th June, the production for the closing and the penultimate weeks respectively being 16 and 14 tins of 19 *seers* each, equivalent to Rs. 1,216 and Rs. 1,064. The total amount of oil produced so far is nearly 50 tins worth Rs. 3,800. It gave occupation in the closing stages to 130 families, 97 being Hindus and 33 Mussalmans and in fact was the only thing that stood between them and starvation. It enables a woman to earn about Rs. 2-2-0 per day. Total amount put into the pockets of the poor during the one month and a half that it was in operation came to about Rs. 1,600, the amount of share capital deposit with the co-operative society being nearly Rs. 900. Some of the women have accumulated amounts up to Rs. 20 to 30 which they had never done in their life-time before and all this in one month.

Under the self-help and self-sufficiency part of the scheme, 6,581 *jal-cochus*, 420 *tan cochus*, 650 cotton plants *plus* 320 seedlings have been successfully grown in the five villages of Bhatialpur, Karatkhil, Mogarpara, Narayanpur and Rezakpur so far and are estimated to yield 350 mds, of tubers for food and 1,950 lbs of lint equivalent to 8,700 yards of cloth.

Oil is delivered by the producers almost throughout the week but principally on the two market days — Monday and Friday. Payment is made on the spot to enable them to make their weekly purchases of household requirements and to procure a supply of cocoa-nuts for extracting oil. Cocoa-nut market subsequently *went up from 8 and 10* cocoa-nuts for the rupee to 5 only, thus making cocoa-nut oil production almost uneconomical. If production is to be resumed, we must not only have a sufficient cash advance in hand to cover the price of the oil delivered and received at our centre during the fortnight but also to enable us to stock a sufficient supply of cocoa-nuts to protect the producers from the fluctuations of the bi-weekly local market, and to give them the benefit of cheap cocoa-nut market in Lakhipur or elsewhere whenever favourable opportunity may present itself. We must have cash advance to enable us to purchase a sufficient supply of tins or screw cap barrels, to engage a tin-smith for sealing them as soon as they are filled and to meet the expenses of transporting tins from Karatkhil to Commilla, Chandpur or elsewhere. The following is a rough estimate of the minimum cash advance required to work the scheme on the basis of a *fortnightly delivery of oil against cash payment.* A more frequent delivery would be uneconomical.

| | |
|---|---|
| Price of oil to be paid to the producers at the rate of Rs. 4/- per *seer* on a fortnightly estimate of 40 tins of nearly 19 *seers* each | 3000-0-0 |
| For stocking cocoa-nuts | 500-0-0 |
| For the purchase of tins, for engaging the services of a tin-smith | 200-0-0 |
| Other incidental charges, e.g. stocking fuel for the preservation of *chhoba* and *maska* during the rainy weather, installing pans and ovens for those who are too poor to own the necessary implements themselves | 300-0-0 |
| Total | 4000-0-0 |

N. B. All this will be non-recurring charge as the cost of tins and transporting oil, sealing of tins etc. is to be in addition to Rs. 4/- per *seer* that is to be paid against the delivery of oil at Commilla. P.

[ This deserves wide publicity.
On the way to Patna, 6-8-'47 — M. K. G. ]

# A VISIT TO SARAN

I

### Experimental Laboratories

Gandhiji is trying to work out in Bihar and Noakhali Hindu-Muslim relationship based on non-violence, upon which depends the future destiny of the Indian Union and Pakistan: whether they ultimately realize the strength of their common interests or engaged in a death grapple they go to the bottom in the whirlpool of power politics. Here, in Bihar and Noakhali, he has vowed to "Do or Die". As he is forced to be physically away from his experimental laboratories, it has fallen to the lot of those of us whom he has left behind to carry his message of love and hope to the bewildered masses, terror-struck by the consequences of their own madness.

Rarely in recent history has there been such a large scale exploitation of the baser instincts of the dumb millions, whose noble and fundamental instincts it was the duty of the leaders to interpret and direct.

The spark in the powder magazine of Siwan, a sub-division of the Saran district of Bihar, which was immediately extinguished by the prompt action of the local police, became the occasion of my belated visit to the district.

### Not an Easy District

Saran is by no means an easy district. The O. T. R., with its supreme contempt for the virtue of punctuality, carrying passengers as easily on the roof as inside it, very obligingly stopping in response to the pull of the chain, was enough to give me a taste of the place and the people as soon as I started for it from Patna. It is a sad commentary on the fruits of 1942. The general lawlessness prevalent in parts of Bihar bodes ill for the future of our hard-won independence.

### Worthy of Emulation

When the riot broke out in Chapra, it was quickly controlled and was not allowed to spread. Perfect peace has been maintained ever since. All this has been due to the indefatigable and selfless efforts of Pandit Girish Tiwari, the hero of Saran, working in close co-operation with the officials who are a brilliant set in that district. The District Magistrate of Chapra and the D. S. P., Siwan, specially stand in refreshing contrast to the general background of corruption and inefficiency, which is eating into the vitals of many of our provincial administrations today.

During my four-day stay in Saran, I visited Chapra, Paighambarpur, Siwan and Hasanpura. Seven meetings were held with the local representatives of the Muslim League, Nationalist Muslims, Congressmen, and other Hindus. Apart from meeting refugees and other individuals two public meetings were addressed including the one at Hasanpura containing nearly three thousand villagers. The contact with the masses and their leaders thus established, enabled me, I hope, to read fairly accurately the underlying currents of feeling which were disturbing the masses.

### Rehabilitation

My first task on reaching the district, however, was to see rehabilitation in practice. The following official figures speak for themselves:

| | Houses burnt | Houses renovated | Murders | Injuries |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Chapra Town | 94 | 90 | 35 | 20 |
| 2. Jalalpur | 78 | 73 | 15 | 40 |
| 3. Khodaibagh | 10 | 9 | 16 | 13 |
| 4. Paighambarpur | 76 | 74 | 31 | 13 |
| 5. Rasulpur | - | - | 7 | - |
| 6. Darni Bazar | - | - | 2 | 5 |
| Total | 258 | 246 | 106 | 91 |

Total Relief Grant spent upto 10th July, 1947, is Rs. 38,995.

Number of persons receiving it: 235

Advance made for house building grants upto 10th July, 1947 is Rs. 1,18,673.

Other twelve houses are under construction. The entire work has been completed within two months due to the untiring effort and personal supervision of the District Magistrate and the officers he was able to inspire, and that prevented the work from going the contractor's way. Most of the refugees who had not left the province have returned.

### Psychological Factor

The masses have confidence in the honesty and capacity of the present officers to maintain law and order. Between the two communities also, a fair amount of confidence has been restored. The spirit of aggressiveness among the majority of the Hindus has disappeared. The credit for the change in spirit and quick rehabilitation must go to Pandit Girish Tiwari and the district authorities who, by their sympathetic, but firm attitude, prevented the work of rehabilitation from being sabotaged.

### A Fulfilment

In Paighambarpur where Badshah Khan himself, with the help of the Hindus and Mohammedans of the locality, started clearing the debris of the local mosque, has arisen an entirely new village with its own mosque, its school, its huts, built by the joint efforts of the Hindus and the Muslims. So high was the spirit that the work was not abandoned by labourers from the surrounding villages even when plague broke out in the village and two of the Hindu labourers fell victims to it. The Government officer-in-charge at the risk of his own life looked after these labourers who were ultimately saved.

There is free intercourse between the two communities. There is perfect co-operation in agricultural operations, which is in refreshing contrast to the ugly economic boycott which one sees almost everywhere in the riot-affected areas in Noakhali and Bihar. Recently, when as a repercussion of the recent Calcutta riots in which some of the Hindu members of the locality were killed, a mosque was pulled down, through the persuasion of Pandit Girish Tiwari, the Hindus are rebuilding it by themselves. It could not be otherwise.

Patna, 15-7-'47 DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

*(To be continued)*

## AN ABORTIVE CONFERENCE

The Indian Shipping Delegation, to which were nominated various ship-owners and representatives of Shipping Companies by the Government of India, met the British representatives, nominated by H. M. G. in London, on 16th and 18th of July last. The discussion lasted barely three hours in all. In fact, there was hardly any discussion at all. The Conference broke down on the very presentation of credentials and terms of reference. How could it have been otherwise?

### THE PERSONNEL

The formation of both the Delegations would seem to have been badly conceived from the very start. Shipping, as we have pointed out, is a national question and has to be decided by people who represent the economic policy of the country. Transport, which should include shipping, is a valve through which expression can be given to the social and economic ideals of a nation. Therefore, any discussions which do not take into consideration this aspect of the shipping question will not be of any use to the country. Whoever chose the delegates on either side would appear to have had no regard for this aspect of the question. The Indian delegates and the British representatives were chosen from among the vested interests who are keen to push their own business interests under the plea of national economy. The personnel of each group was known to the other as being their competitors in the business. We all know what this means in the Shipping Lines. Cut-throat competition has been more or less the rule of the day not only amongst the different nationals representing the shipping industry but among our own shippers.

### THE MONOPOLY

At this stage three of the most competent shippers of the world, viz., Germany, Italy and Japan are *hors de combat.* This brings into the field only the British and American interests to deal with. Of these, as far as India is concerned, Great Britain practically holds a monopoly of Indian Shipping. This being so, the bargaining power is cent per cent on the British side. Under these conditions can any sane person expect the monopolists to drop the business in favour of their aspiring pigmy competitors? Sir William Currie, the Chairman of the Conference and leader of the British representatives, practically said in so many words that they cannot waste time listening to the claims of the Indian Delegation.

### OUR REPRESENTATIVES

If we analyse the composition of the Indian Delegation itself, we would find that it was composed of vested interests which had kept down their own fellow countrymen under one plea or another. Some of them represented "conference lines", which means monopolies and combines working together in consultation on agreed terms, keeping out the less fortunate shippers who were neither powerful enough to be admitted to the conference lines nor were ship-owners. A great many shippers carry on the shipping industry not in their own bottoms but in chartered steamers. Any decision on the national shipping must include the meanest of those engaged in this occupation. The Delegation nominated by the Government of India was not, therefore, representative of all aspects of Indian shipping interests. It may be said to represent the more powerful elements of Indian shipping which have been known to use ruthless methods in dealing with their own nationals as competitors. These combines decide the cargoes which a steamer may load and lay heavy penalties on disobedience to their rule. These factors may be presumed to be not unknown to the British representatives. With what face can we now go and ask the British representatives to drop business in favour of this powerful group?

### NO APPEAL

There was practically no basis for appeal other than one business group asking another to give a part of their business in their favour. This can hardly be called an appeal. In every one of us there is an altruistic side. Negotiations properly conceived should aim at touching the idealistic in man. If a person goes to a rich man owning several houses, and asks him to give up the house in which he lives in favour of the applicant so that the latter can occupy it, the result will probably be a resort to the revolver. On the other hand, if the owner of several houses was appealed to by one who did not need a house for himself, but for some public use, such as a school or a hospital, and asked the owner to donate one of his houses for such purpose, it may be, that the owner will not only accede to the request but may even go to the extent of redecorating and fitting out the house for the needed purpose. Similarly, we may presume that Sir William Currie and his British colleagues would have an idealistic side to their nature which can be appealed to if properly approached. The approachers themselves should not be interested personally in the transaction. Unfortunately, the last attempt was made purely on a business level and as Lord Rotherwick of the *Clan Line* remarked, "It seems as though all the 'give' is on the British side and all the 'take' on the Indian side." This, of course, is a correct summing up of the situation on the level at which the discussion took place. On these grounds, naturally, the British ship-owners were put on the guard and, Mr. Keswick of the *Indo-China Line* suggested considering the best steps to prevent cut-throat competition

### THE CORRECT APPROACH

Such being the case, if the Indian shipping industry is to follow the country's economic needs, it would be necessary to approach this whole problem from a totally different angle. No vested interests on either side should be made to face each other as competitors. The past working of the shipping industry itself should be inquired into and it should be seen if the policy followed by the conference lines will answer the purpose of national needs. Then negotiations should be started on the principle that every independent nation should be able to

control its foreign trade through its control over its shipping industry. For this purpose, free India would require to have its trade carried on with the help of steamers under the control of the Indian Government. There should be no monopolies or combines which are working for their own selfish profits. Every citizen who is capable of falling in line with the needs of the Government should be free to carry on this industry provided he serves the national interests at large.

### The Temptation

The British representatives desiring individuals of the Delegation negotiating with British companies on their own is an undesirable step. This was said to be a "practical" approach but we fear that this was more a trap to get a stranglehold on the industry and make a monopoly of it under British control. Great credit is due to Sheth Valchand Hirachand, leader of the Indian Delegation, for withstanding this temptation and holding together the Indian members as one whole. As we have already pointed out, shipping is a national industry in which private interests should not be allowed to predominate. The effect of Indian shippers negotiating separately with the British companies would have ultimately meant that Indian shipping would have been the cat's paw of British interests, especially as the British interests have, at present, an overwhelming share of the overseas trade in India. The attempt to break up the Delegation into its component parts was only the extention into the economic sphere of the divide and rule policy in politics.

### Public Interest

The contention that the British shipping industry is a private industry built up by private effort will not hold water. All the world over shipping has always been looked after by the State. In England itself the British treasury has advanced millions of pounds to *Cunard* and *White Star Lines* for building steamers from time to time. Under the Trade Facilities Act the Government has lent over 23 millions to shipping companies. In Germany the Government has always been subsidizing the shipping companies. So also Italy and Japan have built up their shipping industry on the financial aid extended to them by their respective Governments. In the United States, under the Jones White Act of 1928, 21 millions annually were paid to private shippers to develop the American foreign trade.

In the light of these it is surprising to find that the Government of India felt no call to help with the negotiations when the Delegation confronted a closed door. This may be owing to the fact that the Government of India of the time was working under the British atmosphere which extended only a half-hearted support to Indian affairs.

### Our Task

Now that India has attained something of an independent status we trust that the Government will realize its great responsibilities and follow the example set by the other maritime countries in helping to build up a merchant marine worthy of the country. In the initial stages it is dangerous to allow the foundations to be laid by vested interests. The Government itself should have a clearly defined policy on shipping and should work up regular lines of priorities for developing the national economy through the control of shipping. The present Indian Government, we are sorry to note, has given no thought to this side of the national economy and is inclined to leave everything to the vagaries of private enterprise.

### The Difficulties

At the present, even the transfer of ships under British register has been banned with the result that ship-owners in India cannot get what tonnage they require by acquisition. America also is not disposed to part with her ships. Both these nations are making a bid for the world shipping trade now that their competitors from Germany, Italy and Japan are outside the arena for the time being. The only way at present open to Indian shippers is to obtain steamers from such sources as are available in North-Western Europe. These steamers from the Baltic side are usually motor-driven with the result that engineers experienced in the line not being available in India, our shipping companies are greatly handicapped. India has been sending our Ambassadors and Trade Commissioners to foreign lands at great public expense. This programme can be justified only if these representatives of India in foreign lands can use their good office to serve the needs of the country and influence those Governments to come to India's help by getting the necessary tonnage transferred to India either through sale or by charter.

It may be mentioned that we have time and again suggested that one way of settling our Sterling Balances would be by transferring of British steamers to our register. England's plea that Sterling Balances have to be frozen because of her Dollar requirements will not affect this type of transaction. Here no dollars are involved. Great Britain can, if the will is there, pay off a good portion of her dues to India by this type of set-off.

As a long-term measure the Government of India should encourage and subsidize ship building in India itself. Ship building is an essential key industry for a country situated as India is and it deserves every support from the Government. This is one of our ancient industries destroyed by the British about a century ago.

### The False Step

Unfortunately, Great Britain is ill-advised in trying to build up an Economic Empire largely based on shipping and export trade. The last two wars do not appear to have taught her the lesson that the writing on the wall proclaims to the world at large that no nation with a lop-sided development of its economy in any direction can maintain peace. If the Scandinavian countries have kept aloof from the wars to a large extent, it is due to their programme of self-sufficiency. That means every country should have a balanced

development on all sides, agricultural, industrial, shipping, transport, commerce, trade and banking. These departments should be adequate to meet the needs of the country. Any over-development will lead ultimately to violence and wars. Hence, in the interests of world peace, it is necessary that Great Britain should adjust her economy to proper proportions. Peace of the world cannot be maintained by attempting to keep her competitors in her over-developed economy down by force.

We fear this lesson has not yet come home to our Indian Government also. We trust that in laying out the economic life of our country this aspect of the question will be borne in mind and the proposed Planning Commission will see to it that all parts of our economic life are adequately developed to meet our needs in the first instance. Seeing that up to now our shipping industry has not been given a dog's chance to develop itself, it becomes necessary for the Government to put forward its best efforts to give it its rightful place in our national economy.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## TO MEMBERS OF THE R. S. S.

[On the morning of the 16th of this month Gandhiji addressed a few words to the members of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha. A report of the meeting and the address is given below. —S. N.]

### ONLY SACRIFICE NOT ENOUGH

Addressing about 500 members of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha at the Bhangi Colony, Gandhiji said that he had visited the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha Camp years ago at Wardha, when the founder Shri Hedgewar was alive. The late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj had taken him to the camp and he (Gandhiji) had been very well impressed by their discipline, complete absence of untouchability and rigorous simplicity. Since then the Sangha had grown. Gandhiji was convinced that any organization which was inspired by the ideal of service and self-sacrifice was bound to grow in strength. But in order to be truly useful, self-sacrifice had to be combined with purity of motive and true knowledge. Sacrifice without these two had been known to prove ruinous to society.

### SANATANI HINDU

The prayer that was recited at the beginning was in praise of Mother India, Hindu culture and Hindu religion. He claimed to be a Sanatani Hindu. He took the root meaning of the word *sanatana*. No one knew accurately the origin of the word Hindu. The name was given to us and we had characteristically adopted it. Hinduism had absorbed the best of all the faiths of the world and in that sense it was not an exclusive religion. Hence it could have no quarrel with Islam or its followers as unfortunately was the case today. When the poison of untouchability entered Hinduism, the decline began. One thing was certain, and he had been proclaiming it from house tops, that if untouchability lived, Hinduism must die. Similarly, if the Hindus felt that in India there was no place for any one else except the Hindus and if non-Hindus, especially Muslims, wished to live here, they had to live as the slaves of the Hindus, they would kill Hinduism. Similarly if Pakistan believed that in Pakistan only the Muslims had a rightful place and the non-Muslims had to live there on sufferance and as their slaves, it would be the death-knell of Islam in India.

### GOOD FOR EVIL

It was an unfortunate fact that India had been divided into two parts. If one part went mad and did ugly deeds, was the other part to follow suit? There was no gain in returning evil for evil. Religion taught us to return good for evil.

### THE SANGHA'S CLAIM

He had seen their *Guruji* a few days ago. He had mentioned to him the various complaints about the Sangha that he had received in Calcutta and Delhi. The *Guruji* had assured him that though he could not vouchsafe for the correct behaviour of every member of the Sangha, the policy of the Sangha was purely service of the Hindus and Hinduism and that too not at the cost of any one else. The Sangha did not believe in aggression. It did not believe in *ahimsa*. It taught the art of self-defence. It never taught retaliation.

Today the ship of India was passing through troubled waters. The leaders in charge of the Government were the best that India possessed. Some people were dissatisfied with them. He would ask them to produce better men if they could and he would advise the old guard to hand over the reins to their betters. After all the Sardar was an old man and Pandit Jawaharlal, though not old in years, looked old and haggard under the burden he was carrying. They were doing their utmost to serve the people, but they could only act according to their light. If the vast bulk of the Hindus wanted to go in a particular direction, even though it might be wrong, no one could prevent them from doing so. But even a single individual had the right to raise his voice against it and give them the warning. That is what Gandhiji was doing. He was told that he was the friend of the Muslims and the enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs. It was true that he was a friend of the Muslims, as he was of the Parsis and others. In this respect he was the same today as he had been since the age of twelve. But those who called him the enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs did not know him. He could be enemy of none, much less of the Hindus and Sikhs.

### RESULT OF WRONG DOING

If Pakistan persisted in wrong doing, there was bound to be war between India and Pakistan. If he had his way, he would have no military; no police even. But all this was tall talk. He was not the Government. Why did not Pakistan plead with the Hindus and the Sikhs and asked them not to leave their homes and ensure their safety in every way? Why could not they in the Indian Union ensure the safety of every Muslim?

Today both the parties appeared to have gone crazy. The result could be nothing but destruction and misery.

### DEEDS AND WORDS

The Sangha was a well-organized, well-disciplined body. Its strength could be used in the interests of India or against it. He did not know whether there was any truth in the allegations made against the Sangha. It was for the Sangha to show by their uniform behaviour that the allegations were baseless.

### WHO CAN PUNISH ?

At the conclusion of the speech, Gandhiji invited questions. One person asked if Hinduism permitted killing of an evil-doer. Gandhiji replied that it did and it did not. One evil-doer could not punish another. To punish was the function of the Government, not that of the public.

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

( Continued from p. 338)

the Valmiki Colony. On reaching the place at 6-30 p. m. Gandhiji tried to speak through the loud-speaker, but there being some defect in the instrument, another instrument was tried. It gave some work but not so as to be heard to the farthest end of the meeting. But a Punjabi friend offered to repeat with his loud voice word for word what Gandhiji spoke. The contrivance worked. Gandhiji said that after his experience of the last evening, he had decided not to offer public prayer unless the whole audience without exception wished to have the prayer. He had never imposed anything on any one, much less could he impose such a highly spiritual thing as prayer. The response must be from the heart. There could be no question of pleasing him. His prayer meetings had certainly become popular and lacs of people seemed to have gained therefrom. But in these times of tension he could understand the resentment of the sufferers. Only no one should expect him to omit that part of the prayer, which to him seemed objectionable. It had to be accepted heartily as it was or rejected. For him the recitation from the *Quran* was an integral part of the prayer.

### CURB ANGER

Turning to the burning question of the day Gandhiji said that he was prepared to understand their resentment and the consequent impatience. But if they deserved their independence, they would learn to subdue their resentment and trust their Government to do the best. He was presenting to them not his own way of non-violence, much as he would like to. But he knew that he was out of court today. He suggested to them the adoption of the path that all democratic nations had adopted. In democracy the individual will was governed and limited by the social will which was the State, which was governed by and for democracy. If every individual took the law into his own hands there was no State, it became anarchy, i. e., absence of social law or State. That way lay destruction of liberty. Therefore, they should subdue their anger and let the State secure justice. In his opinion, if they permitted the State to do its duty, he had no doubt that every Hindu and every Sikh refugee would return to his home with honour and dignity. He was free to admit that they had suffered much in Pakistan, many homes had become desolate, lives had been lost, girls had been abducted, there had been forcible conversions. If they had self-control and did not allow their anger to get the better of their reason, girls would be returned, forcible conversions would be null and void and their properties returned to them. But this could not be done if they interfered with the even course of justice and thus spoiled their own case. They could not expect these things if they expected that their Muslim brothers and sisters should be driven out of India. He regarded any such thing as a monstrous proposition. They could not have the cake and eat it. Moreover whilst it was true that the minorities, i. e., the Hindus and the Sikhs were badly treated in Pakistan, it was equally true that the East Punjab has also treated its minority. the Muslims, likewise. Guilt could not be weighed in golden scales. He had no data to measure the guilt on either side. It was surely sufficient to know that both the sides were guilty. The universal way to have proper adjustment was for both the States to make a frank and full confession of guilt on either side and come to terms, failing agreement to resort to arbitration in the usual manner. The other and rude way was that of war. The thought repelled him. But there was no escape from it if there was neither agreement nor arbitration. Meanwhile, he hoped that wiser counsels would prevail and the Muslims who had not of their own free will chosen to migrate to Pakistan, should be asked by the neighbours to return to their homes with a perfect feeling of safety. This could not come about with the aid of the military. It could be done by return to sanity by the people concerned. He had made his final choice. He had no desire to live to see the ruin of India through fratricide. His incessant prayer was that God would remove him before any such calamity descended upon their fair land. And he asked the audience to join in the prayer.

### LABOUR'S ROLE

In the end Gandhiji congratulated the working class on the Hindus and the Muslims working together. If they were working in perfect union, they had set a noble example. Workmen should have no communalism among them. Had he not said that if they knew their power and used it wisely and constructively, they would become the real rulers and the employers would be their trustees and friends in need and deed ? This happy state of things would come only when they knew that labour was more real capital than the capital in the shape of gold and silver which labour extracted from the bowels of the earth.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 18-9-'47*

### PRAYER INDIVISIBLE

After his return from Daryaganj, Gandhiji proceeded to the small prayer gathering in the Birla House compound. He told them that if there was a single individual who objected to the recitation from the *Quran*, he would not hold his prayer in public. The object of the prayer was not to hurt anyone's feelings. At the same time he could not omit any part of the prayers, which he had selected after careful thought and consideration. He asked them to indicate by raising their hands whether they wanted him to hold the prayers or not. Not

a single hand was raised against. Therefore, the prayer was held as usual with this change that recitation from the *Quran* came at the beginning of the prayers instead of towards the end.

GAJENDRA MOKSHA

After the prayers Gandhiji addressed the gathering saying that prayer was the food of the soul as bread was of the body and he was glad to note that they understood its importance.

Commenting on the *bhajan*, *Gajendra Moksha*, he said that for them the object to be saved was India from the clutches of barbarism. The task could be performed only by God's grace.

PUNJAB AFTER DELHI

Gandhiji told them of his meeting with the Muslim friends at Daryaganj. He could not rest in peace till every Muslim and Hindu and Sikh in India and Pakistan was not rehabilitated in his own home. What was to become of the Juma Masjid, the biggest mosque in India or of the Nankana Saheb or Punja Saheb if no Muslim could live in Delhi or India and no Sikh lived in Pakistan? Were these sacred places to be turned to other purposes ? Never. (Other forcible illustrations are omitted to save space.)

Gandhiji said that he was proceeding to the Punjab in order to make the Muslims undo the wrong that they were said to have perpetrated there. But he could not hope for success unless he could secure justice for the Muslims in Delhi. They had lived in Delhi for generations. If the Hindus and the Muslims of Delhi would begin to live as brothers once again, he would proceed to the Punjab and do or die in Pakistan. The condition for success was that those in the Union should keep their hands clean. Hinduism was like an ocean. The ocean never became unclean. The same should be true of the Union. It was natural for the Hindus and the Sikhs to feel resentment at what they had suffered. But they should leave it to their Government to secure justice for them.

DUTY OF THE MILITARY AND THE POLICE

Partisan behaviour was attributed to the military and the police. It was sad if it was true. If the custodians of law and order were to become partial and participants in crime, how could law and order be maintained ? He appealed to the military and the police to be above prejudice and corruption. They were to be faithful servants of the people irrespective of caste and creed.

*New Delhi*, 19-9-'47

AVOID EXAGGERATION

Gandhiji went out at 5 p. m. and visited the Hindu pocket in Kucha Tarachand surrounded on all sides by Muslims, as the spokesman said before a crowded meeting of the Hindus. He recited in highly exaggerated language the woes of the Hindus and ended by saying that the whole of the locality should be denuded of all the Muslims who were mostly Leaguers and who had carried on a wild agitation against the Hindus. He maintained that the Hindus should do exactly as the Muslims in Pakistan were reported to be doing.

BE BRAVE AND FEARLESS

Gandhiji in reply said that he could not associate himself with the contention that India should drive out all its Muslim population to Pakistan as the Muslims of Pakistan were driving out all non-Muslims. Gandhiji said that two wrongs could not make one right. He, therefore, invited the audience to listen to his advice and act bravely and fearlessly and be proud to live in the midst of a large Muslim population. He then went to the *Anathalaya* in Pataudi House and advised the responsible parties to bring back the orphans who had been removed out of fright. He was told that there was a shower of bullets from adjoining Muslim houses killing one child and wounding another. This was about the 7th of September. Maulana Ahmad Said and other Muslim friends who were accompanying him said that the neighbouring Muslims would see to it that no harm befell the inmates. The next place was near the house of Shri Bhargava who was the sole Hindu living in the midst of Muslims. It was packed with Muslims. Gandhiji hoped that the Muslims would fulfil his dream as a lad of twelve that the Hindus, the Muslims and the other Indians would live together as brothers and friends. These were the facts brought out by Gandhiji at the prayer meeting before the small audience in Birla House garden when he asked them to join him in the prayer that God would fulfil that dream or take him away and save him from witnessing the awful tragedy of one part of India being inhabited by the Muslims only and the other part by the Hindus.

*Birla House, New Delhi*, 20-9-'47

GOD REMOVES FEAR

No one having objected to the recitation of the verses from the *Quran Sharif*, prayers proceeded as usual this evening.

Gandhiji referred to the hymn that had been sung. In it the composer said that God removed all fear from the hearts of those who had faith in Him.

Today the Hindus and the Sikhs were frightening the Muslims in Delhi. Those who wished to be free from fear themselves should not instil fear into the hearts of others.

Bannu in the Frontier Province was a city where he had lived in the house of a Muslim friend. Some persons from Bannu had come and complained that unless they were evacuated soon from there they might all be killed and ruined. The Muslim friend was as staunch as ever but he was unable to protect them single-handed, try as he might. Other Muslims even from the border were coming daily and filling them with dread and they asked to be rescued in time. Gandhiji said that he had not the power. He would pass on their story to Panditji and the Sardar. The friends asked that their own military should come to their aid. The speaker, however, said to them, as he had so often said before, "No one can protect you other than God. No man can protect another." None of them could say whether he was going to be alive the next day

or even a minute after. God alone was, is and ever shall be. Therefore, it was their duty to call upon Him and rely on Him. In no case, however, was anyone at any time to return evil for evil.

### Protection of Minorities

Gandhiji went on to say that the fear of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan was a very sad reflection on the Government there and contrary to the assurance of protection given to the minorities by the Qaid-e-Azam himself. It was the bounden duty of the majority in Pakistan, as of the majority in the Union, to protect the small minority whose honour and life and property were in their hands

### Brothers Become Enemies?

It baffled him as to why those who had lived as brothers, those whose blood had mingled in the massacre of Jalianwala Bagh, should today be enemies. As long as he had breath in his body he would say that this should not be. In the agony of his heart he cried daily, hourly, to God to bring peace. If peace did not come, he would pray to God to take him.

### Refugees

He thought of the poor refugees in Delhi, in both East and West Punjab today while it was raining. They were roofless and homeless — suffering for whose sins? He had heard that convoys of Hindus and Sikhs were pouring in from West Punjab into the East — 57 miles in length. It made his brain reel to think how this could be. Such a happening was unparalleled in the history of the world and it made him, as it should make all of them, hang their beads in shame. This was no time to ask who had done more wrong and who less. It was time to put a stop to this madness.

### Muslim Loyalty Essential

Some said to him that every Muslim in the Indian Union was loyal to Pakistan and not to India. He would deny the charge. Muslim after Muslim had come and said the contrary to him. In any event, the majority here need not be frightened of the minority. After all, four and a half crores of Muslims in India were spread over the length and breadth of the land. The Muslims in the villages were harmless and poor, as in Sevagram. They had no concern with Pakistan. Why turn them out? As for traitors, if there were any, they could always be dealt with by the law. Traitors were always shot, as happened in the case even of Mr. Amery's son, though Gandhiji admitted that that was not his law. Others said that some Muslim officials were being kept here in order to keep all Muslims in India loyal to Pakistan. Some said that the Muslims looked upon all the Hindus as *Kaffirs*. Learned Muslims had told him that this was wholly incorrect. The Hindus were as much followers of inspired scriptures as the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews. In any event, he appealed to the Hindus and the Sikhs to shed all fear of the Muslims from their hearts, to be kind to them, to invite them to return and settle in their old homes and to guarantee them protection from hurt. He was sure that in this way they would get the desired response from the Muslims of Pakistan, even from the border tribes across the Frontier. This was the way to peace and life for India. To drive every Muslim from India and to drive every Hindu and Sikh from Pakistan would mean war and eternal ruin for the country. If such a suicidal policy was followed in both the States, it would spell the ruin of Islam and Hinduism in Pakistan and the Union. Good alone could beget good. Love bred love. As for revenge, it behoved man to leave the evil-doer in God's hands. He knew no other way.

## A DEFECT IN THE CONSEMBLY RESOLUTION

The resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly as regards the authorized design of the National Flag reads as follows :

> "Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be a horizontal tricolour of deep saffron (*kesari*), white and dark green in equal proportion. In the centre of the white band there shall be a wheel in navy blue *to represent the charkha*. The design of the wheel shall be that of the wheel (*chakra*) which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath lion capital of Ashoka's pillar. The diameter of the wheel shall approximate to the width of the white band. The ratio of the width to the length of the Flag shall ordinarily be 2 : 3."

The italics in '*to represent*' are mine.

Now as the wheel is there on the Flag as a representative of the spinning-wheel, it seems to me that the Resolution ought to have included an additional complementary direction that the Flag should be made of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth only. In the absence of such express direction even responsible people have been known to use any kind of cloth for the Flag, with the result that they expose themselves to the charge of hypocrisy like so many Hindus who claim to worship the cow but keep buffaloes for milk or consume buffalo's milk instead of cow's milk.

I hope the Constituent Assembly will look into the matter and do the needful.

V. G. D.

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